Lydgate's Nightingale Poems.

(Einleitung.)

INAUGURAL-DISSERTATION

ZUR

ERLANGUNG DER PHILOSOPHISCHEN DOKTORWÜRDE

DER

HOHEN PHILOSOPHISCHEN FAKULTÄT I. SECTION

DER

KGL. LUDWIG-MAXIMILIANS-UNIVERSITÄT MÜNCHEN

VORGELEGT VON

OTTO GLAUNING.

DRUCK VON RICHARD CLAY & SONS, LTD.,
BUNGAY, SUFFOLK.

1902.

Diss. München
1902.

Lydgate's Nightingale Poems.

(Einleitung.)

INAUGURAL-DISSERTATION

ZUR

ERLANGUNG DER PHILOSOPHISCHEN DOKTORWÜRDE

DER

HOHEN PHILOSOPHISCHEN FAKULTÄT I. SECTION

DER

KGL. LUDWIG-MAXIMILIANS-UNIVERSITÄT MÜNCHEN

VORGELEGT VON

OTTO GLAUNING.

ACAD. LUGD. BAT. BIBL.

DRUCK VON RICHARD CLAY & SONS, LTD.,
BUNGAY, SUFFOLK.

1902.

Die Arbeit erschien vollständig in den
PUBLICATIONS OF THE EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY.
Extra Series, No. LXXX.
1900.

Lydgate's Minor Poems.

The Two Nightingale Poems.

BERLIN: ASHER & CO., 13, UNTER DEN LINDEN.
NEW YORK: C. SCRIBNER & CO.; LEYPOLDT & HOLT.
PHILADELPHIA: J. B. LIPPINCOTT & CO.

Lydgate's Minor Poems.

The Two Nightingale Poems.

(A.D. 1446.)

EDITED FROM THE MSS.

WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND GLOSSARY

BY

OTTO GLAUNING, PH.D.

LONDON:
PUBLISHED FOR THE EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY
BY KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER & CO., LIMITED,
PATERNOSTER HOUSE, CHARING-CROSS ROAD.
1900

Extra Series, LXXX.

Richard Clay & Sons, Limited, London & Bungay.

CONTENTS.

PAGE

PREFACE vii

INTRODUCTION:

§ 1. THE TITLE xi

§ 2. DESCRIPTION OF THE MSS. xi

§ 3. GENEALOGY AND CRITICISM OF THE TEXTS ... xvii

§ 4. THE METRE xx

§ 5. THE LANGUAGE xxvi

§ 6. THE AUTHORSHIP xxxiv

§ 7. THE DATE xxxvi

§ 8. THE SOURCES xxxviii

§ 9. CONCLUDING REMARKS xlvi

THE FIRST POEM: THE NIGHTINGALE 1

THE SECOND POEM: A SAYENGE OF THE NYGHTYNGALE 16

NOTES 29

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS 77

GLOSSARY 79

Dedicated

TO MY PARENTS.

PREFACE.

About two generations ago the works of Lydgate were very little known even among scholars in Middle-English literature, and the monk of Bury had little credit as a poet.[1] To the late Professor Zupitza it is due that, in the second half of the nineteenth century, more attention has been paid to the study of Lydgate's life and works. About this first real period of Lydgate study, inaugurated by the editor of *Guy of Warwick*, Professor Schick gives us a concise account on pp. xii and xiii of the Introduction to his excellent edition of the *Temple of Glas*. This fundamental work itself stands at the end of this period; and in it, for the first time, nothing has been neglected which could give a vivid picture of Lydgate's life and works as a whole; and his qualities as a poet have found a more favourable judgment than before.

The edition of the *Temple of Glas* has therefore served, in a way, as a basis for all the following publications of works of Lydgate.

To give a brief account of the further progress made in the study of Lydgate, I include in the following list all the editions of works of the monk, published in this second period, as far as they have come to my knowledge:[2]

Steele, Robert, Lydgate and Burgh's Secrees of old Philisoffres. A version of the 'Secreta Secretorum.' Edited from the Sloane MS. 2464, with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary. (Publications of the Early English Text Society, Extra Series, LXVI.) London, 1894.

[1] See Ritson's "this voluminous, prosaick, and driveling monk," and "in truth, and fact, these stupid and fatigueing productions, which by no means deserve the name of poetry, and their stil more stupid and disgusting author, who disgraces the name and patronage of his master Chaucer, are neither worth collecting (unless it be as typographical curiositys, or on account of the beautyful illuminations in some of his presentation-copys), nor even worthy of preservation: being only suitablely adapted '*ad ficum & piperem*,' and other more base and servile uses."—*Bibl. Poet.* (1802), p. 87, 88.

[2] Th. Arnold's publication of Lydgate's verses on Bury St. Edmunds was not accessible to me.

Triggs, Oscar Lovell, The Assembly of Gods: or The Accord of Reason and Sensuality in the Fear of Death by John Lydgate. Edited from the MSS. with Introduction, Notes, Index of Persons and Places, and Glossary. (Publications of the Early English Text Society, Extra Series, LXIX.) London, 1896.

Krausser, Emil, Lydgate's Complaint of the Black Knight. Text mit Einleitung und Anmerkungen. Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung der philosophischen Doctorwürde der philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Heidelberg. [Sonderabdruck aus Anglia, Bd. xix.] Halle a. S., 1896.

Robinson, Fred N., On two Manuscripts of Lydgate's Guy of Warwick. Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature, Vol. v. (Child Memorial Volume.) [Harvard University.] Boston, 1896, pp. 177–220.

Schleich, Gustav, Lydgate's Fabula duorum mercatorum. Aus dem Nachlasse des Herrn Prof. Dr. I. Zupitza, Litt.D., nach sämtlichen Handschriften herausgegeben. (Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach- und Culturgeschichte der germanischen Völker. LXXXIII.) Strassburg, 1897.

Skeat, Walter W., Chaucerian and other pieces. Edited, from numerous manuscripts. Being a supplement to the Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer (Oxford, in six volumes, 1894). Oxford, 1897. [No. 8: The Complaint of the Black Knight.—No. 9: The Flour of Curtesye.—No. 10: A Balade; in Commendation of Our Lady.—No. 11: To my Soverain Lady.—No. 12: Ballad of Good Counsel.—No. 13: Beware of Doubleness.—No. 14: A Balade: Warning Men to beware of deceitful Women.—No. 15: Three Sayings.—No. 22: A Goodly Balade.—No. 23: Go forth, King.]

Hammond, Eleanor P., London Lickpenny in *Anglia*, xx (1898), p. 404 ff. Halle, 1898.

Hammond, Eleanor P., Lydgate's Mumming at Hertford in *Anglia*, xxii (1899), p. 364 ff. Halle, 1899.

Furnivall, F. J., The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man, Englisht by John Lydgate, A.D. 1426, from the French of Guillaume de Deguileville, A.D. 1335. Edited . . . Parts I and II (Publications of the Early English Text Society, Extra Series, LXXVII, LXXXIII). London, 1899, 1900.[1]

Degenhart, Max, Lydgate's Horse, Goose, and Sheep. Mit Einleit-

[1] Part II was not accessible to me.

ung und Anmerkungen herausgegeben. (Münchener Beiträge zur Romanischen und Englischen Philologie. Heft xix.) Erlangen und Leipzig, 1900.

Brotanek, Rudolf, Die Englischen Maskenspiele. (Wiener Beiträge zur Englischen Philologie xv.) Wien, 1902.

With the exception of the Pilgrimage of the Life of Man, for the edition of which the students of Middle-English language and literature are infinitely obliged to the labour of Dr. Furnivall, the larger works of the monk still[1] have to wait for critical or even handy editions. Of some of the so-called Minor Poems some accurate editions have been published, as we have mentioned; for the rest the student has still to recur to the edition by Halliwell, which has now turned out to be insufficient for modern researches. Therefore I have not looked upon it as a superfluous task to undertake, with Dr. Furnivall's approbation, a new edition of Lydgate's Minor Poems in critical texts for the Early English Text Society, of which the present two poems are to be the first part.

The pleasant, if somewhat difficult task now remains to me to discharge, in this short space, a heavy weight of indebtedness for much kind help received in the course of my work, an agreeable duty, recalling, as it does, much pleasant intercourse not only with books, but with men.

I wish to express my gratitude to the authorities and attendants of the British Museum, the Bodleian, and the University Libraries in Cambridge and Leiden, and to the librarians of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and Corpus Christi and Pembroke College, Cambridge, for having kindly given me access to their treasures. I also wish to thank very cordially Dr. Furnivall and Mr. Jenkinson for much help in my work, and especially for great personal kindness.

Dr. Furnivall, and Miss Annie F. Parker of Oxford, have been kind enough to oblige me very much by reading the proofs of the texts with the manuscripts.

In more than one respect I have to acknowledge my deep indebtedness to Professor Schick: not only do I thank him for his continued personal interest in this work, but also for his suggestive teaching; the influence of both will be noticed everywhere throughout the following pages.

[1] November 1901.

Munich, February 1902.

INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. THE TITLE.

There is but little to be said about the titles of our poems, as there are but slight differences to be stated. MS. c has the title: *The nightyngale*, supplied by a later hand; its running title is also: *The nyghtynghale*. As this running title is in the same handwriting as the poem itself, we may conclude that it is the original title. MS. C shows the title in a modern hand: *The Nightingale by Iohn Lidgate*. MS. H got its title from Stowe: it runs: *A sayenge of the nyghtyngale;* and in MS. A we find, again in the old chronicler's hand: *Here folowinge begynneth a sayenge of þe nightingalle Imagened and cumpyled by daune Iohn Lidgate, munke of Berye.*[1] Therefore the first poem may be christened: *The Nightingale*, the second: *A Sayenge of the Nyghtyngale.*

§ 2. DESCRIPTION OF THE MSS.

A. FIRST POEM.

1. *MS. Cotton Caligula A. II = c.*

London, British Museum; see *Catal. Cotton MSS.*, p. 42.[2] Compare also Furnivall, *Percy's Fol. MS.*, II, p. 411; Sarazin, *Octavian* (*Altenglische Bibliothek*, III), p. ix ff.; Kaluza, *Libeaus Desconnus* (*Altenglische Bibliothek*, V), p. ix; Gough, *On the Middle English Metrical Romance of Emare*, Kiel, 1900, p. 1 ff. Paper book in 4°; date: second half of the xvth cent. Kaluza, p. ix, says: "C. Cott. Calig. A. II, eine Papierhandschrift aus der Regierungszeit Heinrich's VI. Furnivall (*Percy's Fol. MS.*, II, p. 411) setzt sie in das Iahr 1460; sie gehört aber wohl noch in das 2. Viertel des 15. Iahrhunderts." I do not think that this statement quite hits the mark, and should prefer Dr. Furnivall's opinion. Our poem extends from fol. 59 *a*–64 *a* (formerly fol. 57 *a*–62 *a*);

[1] This reads like a copy of one of John Shirley's titles.

[2] There is a mistake in this catalogue: the Christian name of Hoveden is "Iohn," not "Sam." (*D. N. B.* xxvii, 427 *a*, ff.).

fol. 1–139 of the MS. are in one handwriting. The title, supplied by a later hand, is: *The nightyngale;* the running title on fol. 59 *b*, 60 *b*, 61 *b*, 62 *b*, 63 *b* the same, with slight variations in spelling; fol. 60 *a*, 62 *a*, 63 *a*, 64 *a* are without running title. On fol. 61 *a* the first line of that page (l. 155), with exception of the last word, is found once more on the top of the page in a very bad handwriting. The colophon runs: *Amen .;. Explicit.* With few exceptions, we find capitals at the beginnings of the lines, and they are illuminated in red. The stanzas are marked by a certain sign on the margin. In the index of the MS. we read: *Another poeme intitled the nightingall.*

The abbreviations are quite clear and in conformity with the common usage; the scribe only shows some inconsistency in using *n* with a curl. In Romance words[1] ending in *-on*, this curl is generally meant for *-oun*; as in derisioún 309, confusioún 311, consecracioún 405, sauacioún 406, that is to say, when the stress is laid on the ending. Then, the vowel is the same as in: doun 64, 80, 126, 276, 279, 290, 339, 395, soun 66, croun 312, where *n* with curl is always shown. If, however, the ending is unaccented, and the vowel therefore shortened, the scribe expresses the difference by writing: séson 22, 28, 35, 58, réson 24, 60, 117, 317, enchéson 61, párdon 228. This system is often violated; not only do we find lésoñ 39, lamentácioñ 163, pássioñ 328, compássioñ 372 with curled *n*, but the scribe also applies the overline in words where he is not authorized in the least to do it, as in doñ (p.p.) 148, 382, borñ 156, 313, thorñ 312, moñ 350. I have therefore expanded this abbreviation only in the first class of cases; in the rest I have marked it by a stroke above the *n* = ñ.

The scribe has very few peculiarities in his spelling, and the poem in general shows an orthography not very much differing from the standard of Chaucer's spelling. We find a predilection for *ll*,[2] not only in the Latin ending *-al*: mortall 77, morall 109, originall 142, celestyall 145, speciall 176, 327, etc., eternall 413;—but in other words too: sotell 136, appell 151, pepyll 152, purpull 310, Eysell 368. Other consonants are not generally found in doubled form, though we have always: myddes 99, 339, 340, etc. Instead of the original spirant we find the media in: Wheder 38, 127, oder 124, 291; de 19 may be due to the assimilating power of the

[1] Compare Schick, *T. G.*, p. lxi.
[2] See Morsbach, *Mittelenglische Grammatik*, p. 40, Anm. 2.

preceding *d*, or it is a mere carelessness of the scribe.—*y* occurs as a consonant, representing O.E. palatal ȝ, in: yaf 61, 389, Ayen 130, 226, 402, Yevyng 194, yate 325; prosthetic in "yerth" 123, 384, 395.—There are only a few cases where we find *i* (*y*) for *e* in endings:[1] hertis 21, 62, bemys 391; banyshid 383; wyntyr 27, aftir 92, 265, etc.; pepyll 152.—The scribe always writes: be (= by) 22, 23, 35, 39, etc.; whech 46, 88, 91, etc.; Thenk (60), 139, 153, etc.; besy 353.—*n* and *l* are not unfrequently omitted: conny[n]ge 112, begynny[n]g 121, wor[l]dly 132, 153, wor[l]de 162, etc.

2. *MS. Corpus Christi College, Oxford*, 203 = *C.*

Oxford, Library of Corpus Christi College; see Coxe, *Cat. Cod. MSS. in Coll. Aul. Oxon.* II. On vellum, small 8°; date: second half of the xvth century. Our poem begins on p. 1, ends on p. 21, and is written throughout by the same scribe, though it is not likely that the whole was finished at once. There is no title by the hand of the scribe, nor any running title. At the end stands: *Amen. Explicit.* The index at the beginning, in recent handwriting, has: *The Nightingale. By Iohn Lydgate. Ded. to the Duchesse of Buckingham i. e. Anne, daughter of Ralph Nevill first Earle of Westmerland, wife of Humfrey Stafford, created Duke of Buck.* 1444. (See § 7.) Below: *Proverbium Scogan*,[2] p. 22. *Proverbium R. Stockys*,[3] p. 23. *Ext. under Chaucers Name among his Workes*, f. 335. *b. b.* Middle of the page: *Henry Duke of Warwick, p.* 17. *dyed* 1446. At the bottom of the page: *Liber Collegii Corporis Christi Oxon Ex dono Gulielmi Fulman*[4] *A. M. hujus Collegii quondam Socii.* These last lines are of still later date.

There are no initials in the MS., and at the beginning of the lines capitals are generally used. On p. 1, which is badly injured by dirt, we find a Latin invocation of the Virgin Mary: *Assit principio sancta Maria meo. Amen.* Then follows a short prose treatise, in which the contents of the poem are given by the scribe, as I think, not by Lydgate himself, judging from its incorrectness (compare § 8). At the beginning an initial was to be inserted, probably by the hand of the illuminator, but was forgotten afterwards. The introduction and the first two stanzas are, in our

[1] See Schick, *T. G.*, p. lxv, note 3.

[2] See Ritson, *B. P.*, p. 97–98; *D. N. B.* li, p. 1; Kittredge in *Notes and Studies in Philology and Literature* 1. (Harvard University) Boston, 1892, p. 109 ff.

[3] See Ritson, *B. P.*, p. 106.

[4] See *D. N. B.* xx, p. 326 ff.

edition, taken from this MS., as they are not found in MS. c. But from st. 3 onwards, the Caligula MS. has been preferred as basis (see § 3).—ll. 299 and 300 are transposed in this MS. In l. 335 "hen(ne)," l. 336 the *e* of "whenn(e)" is cut down in binding, and l. 399 "shede" is illegible.

Some of the most conspicuous orthographic and phonetic peculiarities of the scribe are the following. The voiceless *s* is given as *ss*: Assendyth iv, gesse 86, blessyd 259, or *sc*: sentensce 12, sensce 16, Ascendyng 26, or *c*: secyth 37, or *s*: persed 52, perse 138, conseyte 60 (Schleich, *Fabula*, p. liii). About 'noresynge' 30, compare ten Brink, § 112; about 'sclepe' 29, 35, 44, etc. (but 'slepe' 118), 'sclowth' 57, 'scle' 161, etc., compare Varnhagen in *Anglia, Anzeiger*, vii (1884), p. 86–91.—*w* often occurs as a second constituent in diphthongs (?), representing O.E. *ā* or O.Fr. *ū*: trowblos 48, owre (= hour) 78, 86, (= our) 264, Abowte 105, fownde 108, nowmbere 125, downe 126, etc.—Compare: sclowth 57, trowth 374; revth 344; ruthe 372.—Twice, *w* is put instead of *v*: Awayll 76, concewe 134.—*c* occurs for *g* in: can 25, 136, 308, canne 54, neclygence 65.—þ occurs in: þu 156, þat 394.—*y* as a consonant, representing O.E. palatal ȝ, in: yaf 61, 389, yeuynge 194, Ayene 226, 402; prosthetic in: yerth 348, 384, 395, yeke 402.

The scribe shows a great predilection for putting *i* or *y* for *e* in endings: myddys viii, ourys xi; declaryd 17, secyth 37, boryn 156, etc.; lityll 1, wyntyre 27, Whedyre 38, opyn 100, etc. Besides we find: this (= thus) 28, 178, thys 169, ych (= each) 143 (vche 236), fynde (= fiend) 353, thyn̄ (= then) 388. Less frequently than *i* or *y* we find *u* in endings instead of *e*: murthus 74, clowdus 94, bemus 391; owuthe 116; vndurstondeñ xii, ſſadure xiii, remembure 119, Appull 151, pepull 152. In some cases a special flourish is used for abbreviating the ending *-us*, as in galantus 11, hertus 21, 62, kalendus 45, boffettus 255.—hure i, ii, iv, 5, 6, 39, hur 4, etc., but hyre 7, 10, hyr 8, 9, etc.—*e* for *i*: *a.*, in unaccented syllables: mescheue 137, orygenall 142, rightwesnesse 204, consydrenge 234; yef 177, yeff 196, hes (= his) 410; *b.*, in accentuated syllables: leue 168, 384, leueste 172. 'perseue' 67, 'conceuede' 68, 'concewe' 134 on one side, and 'deceyve' 136 on the other are no peculiarities of the scribe, but the representatives of the O.Fr. double forms: 'concevóns': stress on the ending, and 'concéif': stress on the stem.

As in MS. c, the scribe fairly often has a flourish above *n*. A glance at the following examples will justify my reproducing it as in

MS. c: swañ iii, doun viii, crystyñ x, passyoun xi, vndurstondeñ xii, mañ xiv, Ascencyone xviii, etc.

Moreover, we find that the scribe sometimes omits single letters: lame[n]table v, An[d] x, 155, 349, rygh[t] 59, Rygh[t] 63, etc., ffe[r]thyre 85, wor[l]de 121, etc.

B. SECOND POEM.

1. *MS. Harleian* 2251 = *H.*

London, British Museum; see *Catal. MSS. Harl.*, II, p. 578, 581, and 582. A paper book in small fol.; Foerster, *Herrig's Archiv*, ciii, p. 149 ff., dates it 1459, from internal evidence. This MS. was always[1] considered to be written by Shirley's hand, till Foerster in the article mentioned above proved that this opinion was erroneous. Our poem, in one handwriting, is found on fol. 229 *a*–234 *b* (formerly fol. 255 *a*–260 *b*). The title, in the hand of Stowe, the historian, runs: *A sayenge of the nyghtyngale.* No running title. At the end we read: *Of this Balade Dan Iohñ Lydgate made nomore.*— At the beginning, there is an initial in red and blue; the headings of the lines generally begin with capitals, which are illuminated with red. There is no index in the MS.—l. 236 is omitted.

There are dots marking the cæsural pause. I think they teach us nothing, as they are put in very arbitrarily by the scribe—*e. g.* l. 8 after: forsoth, l. 9: song, l. 31: hem, l. 36: herde, l. 87: doo, l. 97: dide, l. 218: me,—so I do not reproduce them or take them into consideration when dealing with the metre.

Of the peculiarities of Shirley (see above and § 3), mentioned by Furnivall, *Odd Texts*, p. 78, and Schick, *T. G.*, p. xxiii, we find here but: *uw* for *ew*: -huwed 2, nuwe 15, suwen 163.—Other peculiarities of the scribe are: *i* (*y*) for *e* in endings: fowlis 4, sterris 38, grassis 39, briddis 55, 59, 64, handis 114; meanyth 56, 82, takith 65, 83, Betokenyth 66, Shakith 74, qwakyth 74; callid 25, 333, blessyd 127, 143, 249, 364, pressid 154, offendid 213; gardyn 53, 340, etc.; also: hym (= hem) 117, 282, etc.—*ie* for *e* (Schleich, *Fabula*, p. xxxv) occurs in: bien 17, 29, 106, 362, cliere 36, 252, 284, 362, chiere 46, fieble 186; triewe 69 (17, 56, 80).—*w* as a vowel (Schleich, *Fabula*, p. xlv): twnes 36, 58, etc.; as the second element of a diphthong in: Emerawdes 34.—Very

[1] e. g. *Cat. Harl. MSS.* II, p. 578; Morley, *English Writers*, v, p. 148 note; Skeat, *Chaucer*, I, p. 57; *D. N. B.* lii, p. 134 *a*; Steele, *Secrees*, p. xi; Schleich, *Fabula*, p. I.

often consonants appear in doubled form: bridde 20, 51, 71, langwisshyng 29,[1] Cherissh 30,[1] Castell 32, allone 48, 160, etc.

2. *Additional MS.* 29729 = *A.*

London, British Museum; see *Catal. Addit. MSS.* On paper, small fol., in the handwriting of Stowe; date 1558 (see Catal. Index). Our poem extends from fol. 161 *a*–166 *a*. The title runs: *Here folowinge begynneth a sayenge of þe nightingalle Imagened and cumpyled by daune Iohn Lidgate, munke of Berye.* There are no running title, no colophon, no initials; capitals are also rare and without system. On the title-page of the MS. we read: *Daune Lidigate monke of Burye, his Woorkes*, supplied below, by a later hand: *written by Stowe.*

According to fol. 179 *a* of the MS. (compare also Schick, *T. G.*, p. xix), the MS. is a copy by Stowe from Shirley, therefore we are not surprised to find some cases where the peculiarities of the original spelling are preserved (see Schick, *T. G.*, p. xxiii): *uw* for *ew*: -huwed 2, truwe 30, 69, huwe 121.—*e-* for *y-* in the p.p. in: eblent 130, emeynt 137, elefft 220.—There are many examples which still show Shirley's predilection for *ff* (see p. xii[2]), though it is possible that these may be due to the same predilection of Stowe's, as we find an exceedingly large number of cases where other consonants too (see below) are doubled without any apparent reason: *ff* in: sauffe 10, yff 50, 77, 207, theffe 102, lifft 103, cheffe 246, 251, etc., off 252, 312, soffte 264, lyffe 342, contemplatiffe 343.

Other peculiarities are: *i* or *y* in endings for *e*: grasys 39, thevys 174; pressin 152, pressyd 154, forsakyne 170, spokyn 202, bonchyd 206, -percyd 210, blessyd 249, clepyd 257, makid 298; gardin (gardyn) 53, 340, etc.—Notice: pardy 24, maundy 248.—*a* for *e* before *r*: evar 159, 178, nevar 172, 179.—*w* as a vowel, occurs in: nwe 123, (but newe 15), endwre 181, wnkynd 182; emerawdes 34.—Not without interest for the date of the MS. is the changing of *d* and *th* in the words: moder 162, mother 257, fader 259, fathers 274, and also the forms of the pronouns (see § 5).—Of the doubled consonants, *ll* occurs in the largest number of examples: dalle 9, nightingalle 11, allone 48, -sellfe 72, etc., chaundellabre 320, mortall 352, crystall 362, etc.—*tt* in: grett 67, 88, etc., fett 114, 283, Pylatt 138, -outten 179, etc.—The pron. possess. fem. occurs as: her 13, 36, hur 15, 16, 23, hir 37, 62, 73, hyr 83,

[1] See Schleich, *Fabula*, p. li; ten Brink, § 112 *a*.

etc.—Compare: eghen 108, egghen 130, eghe 177, eyen 194.—Obvious mistakes are seen in: dedemcyon (for: redemcyon) 284, assay[l]e 308; about 'chayne' (?) 318, compare the note to that line.

§ 3. GENEALOGY AND CRITICISM OF THE TEXTS.

I. *The MSS. c and C.*

The text of the first poem is handed down to us in fairly good condition, as the two MSS. do not generally differ much from each other, so that we may say with certainty that both go back to a common original. But notwithstanding the general coincidence, they cannot either of them have been derived directly from the other:

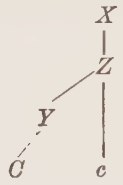
1. c cannot be derived from C, because, though there is no very remarkable difference in the date, c is certainly the elder of the two, and, moreover, C has a very long list of its own individual faults, where c has the better reading:

40. mervell c] merevell hit C.—42. mery] *om.*—71. is] *om.*—81. endure shall] enduryth.—90. song] schange.—95. enlumyned] enlewmyde.—106. of] to.—115. cristen-man] kyrsteñ manes.—128. fall] schall.—129. the] the rygh.—139. thi-self] they-selfe.—165. With] With the.—166. byddeth the] by the.—173. these] this.—202. age] *om.*—212. Noght] How.—236. vn-to] in-to.—277. syng-yng] syngnified.—280. in] *om.*—299, 300] *transposed in C.*—302. youre] oure.—314. Vnto] Vpoñ.—323. Ye] The.—331. peple] pepull that.—333. hym to] to hym.—369. crym] tyme.—385. all] Allso.

2. C is independent of c, because the first two stanzas are missing in c. The prose treatise at the beginning in C, being not by the poet, but probably by the scribe (see § 8), may be a special foreword to C, and independent of the form in which the poem may have circulated. Farther, though the scribe of C is not a very careful man, C offers in some cases the preferable reading, where c is wrong, though it is not at all likely that the careless scribe of C corrected these errors:

130. quert C] quarte c.—150. Anone] or none.—222. Ley] Ley that.—233. aswaged was] was aswaged.—243. redy is] ys redy the.—257. of] of pite &.—270. Restreyne] Restreyned.—283. To] The.—314. peynes] peynes, calde.—339. avale] a-vaile.—348. in] in a.—374. all] *om.*

We hence conclude that c and C go back to a common original MS. X, which is lost, but probably through the medium of a MS. Z. As arguments, we can bring forward that, roughly speaking, both versions exhibit the same wording, and that some peculiarities in spelling—e. g. *i* (*y*) for *e* in endings—are found in both MSS. in the same places. Considering that c has mostly the better reading, we may even be allowed to suppose that C is not a direct copy from MS. Z, but from an intermediate MS. Y which has also been lost.



II. *The MSS. H and A.*

The case here is very much the same as in the foregoing paragraph. The nearly complete parallelism of the text, which on the whole is well preserved, forces us to assume a common original; the more, when we consider that certain more or less delicate traces of the peculiarities in the original spelling are preserved in both MSS. But here also the two MSS. are independent of each other.

1. H cannot be derived from A, because it is just a hundred years older than the other. Besides, A shows a certain number of individual readings, which are not found in H.

2. westward H] estwarde A.—6. taught[e]] taught tho.—20. sle] sleth.—23. theyr] hur.—30. affectioun] affectyons.—43. that] *om.*—58. herdest] haddest.—63. to encres] tencresse them.—65. the] *om.*—115. in] of.—118. an] *om.*—131. and] and to.—155. is] is I.—165. diden flee] dyd wend.—230. grete] *om.*—273. rayle] ryall.—281. kyndenesses] kyndnes.—282. the[e]] *om.*—284. a] *om.*—295. palme] pallis.—299. key] kepe.—318. Tau] chayne.—329. thurgh] ouer.—354. Callyng] called.—362. thaleys] paleys.

3. Nor can A come from H: the peculiarities of Shirley's spelling are better preserved in A than in H; l. 236 is omitted in H; further A sometimes has the better reading than H.

4. in A] *om.* H.—62. fyry] fayre.—103. and] at.—144. can] *om.*—153. and] and the.—202. heringe of tales] tales heryng.—224. them] *om.*—232. heued] *om.*—236. *om.* H.—302. ascencyon]

Redempcioun.—313. whoo] *om.*—344. For] ffrom.—346. Is] It is.—351. þat] *om.*

It is impossible to believe that A in these cases should have, of itself, found the true reading, considering the long list of inferiorities above, where A always ranks secondarily to H. At last, two in themselves insignificant faults of A seem to me very interesting. l. 334 A writes: palegorye, whereas H has: the Allegorye; again, in l. 362 A: paleys, H thaleys. I think it is evident that Stowe would not have misread H, but he must have had a MS. before him, where the old þ was used: now þ is one of Shirley's predilections.

III. *The MSS. taken as bases.*

The foregoing discussion of the genealogy of the MSS. has proved that, 1. in both cases we have not the original; 2. in each case which of the MSS. is preferable: In c and H the number of better readings outweighs the faults; moreover, both are older than C and A, so I took them as the bases of my texts.

The introduction and the first two stanzas of the c-version are taken from C, not being found in c. I need not say that I profited by C and A to correct the errors of c and H.

Every deviation from the MSS. taken as bases is indicated. Square brackets are used to supply omissions of words, syllables, and letters. Where it was not possible to use brackets, I marked the altered word, or the first of a group of words, by an asterisk. In all cases the reading of c or H is each time noted at the bottom of the page. Abbreviations are expanded in the usual way (italics); about ñ. compare § 2; underlined proper names in H are printed in heavy type. Various readings of C and A, so far as they represent variations of meaning, are given at the bottom of the page. Mere orthographical or phonetic variations of no interest are neglected, the peculiarities of the scribes being discussed at large in § 2. About the cæsural pause, compare Description of MS. H, p. xv above. The tags to d, f, g, r are not printed.

The entire punctuation is mine.—*ff*, at the beginning of the lines, is replaced by *F*. As it is often very difficult to say whether the letter standing in the MS. is a capital or not, I have introduced capitals regularly at the beginning of a line, and in proper names. The indefinite article, certain adverbs, or other short words are often joined to the word following them; these I have separated. On the contrary, words separated by the scribe are joined by hyphens.

§ 4. THE METRE.

"*In many cases it is, however, impossible to classify a line . . .*"
Schick, *T. G.*, p. lix.

1. *Structure of the Verse.*

The metrical form of the poems is the Rhyme Royal (Schipper, *Englische Metrik*, I, § 196; Schick, *T. G.*, p. liv), seven-line stanzas of five-beat lines, with the sequence of rhymes *a b a b b c c*. In the first poem we find st. 34 with the sequence *a b a b b a c*; in the second one st. 18 and st. 54 are six-line stanzas with the rhymes *a b a b c c*; st. 20 is an eight-line stanza with *a b a b b b c c*.

Following Prof. Schick's system in his *T. G.*, p. lvii ff., we have five varieties of verse.

Type A. "*The regular type, presenting five iambics, to which, as to the other types, at the end an extra syllable may be added. There is usually a well-defined cæsura after the second foot, but not always.*"

I. *Poem.*

15. Commándyng theým // to hére wyth téndernésse
17. Whos sónge and déth // declâred ís exprésse
19. But nóthelés // consídred thé senténce
21. And fléschly lúst // out óf theyre hértis cháce
23. In príme-téns // renóueled yére be yére
40. Gret mérvell ís // the endúryng óf hir thróte.

Of such entirely regular lines we have 133. Besides, I read as of type A 98 lines where the *-e* in the cæsura was surely dropped in Lydgate's time, especially before vowels; compare Krausser, *Complaint*, p. 14, and O. Bischoff, *Englische Studien*, xxv, p. 339:

8. Vn-tó the týmę // hyr ládylý goodnésse
9. Luste fór to cáll // vn-tó hyr hígh presénce
41. That hér to héręe // it ís a sécond héuen
49. But, ás god wóld, // in hást y wás Reléued
56. Me cálde ande saýdę: // "A-wáke & Rýse, for sháme
67. For tó perceýuę // with áll my díligénce.

In the following examples the cæsura presents a particular interest:

Usual cæsura after the arsis of the 1. measure: ll. 73, 297.[1]

Lyric cæsura after the thesis of the 3. measure: ll. 45, 46, 74, 108, 121, 129, etc. = 37 lines.

[1] For the usual cæsura after the arsis of the 2. measure: see the two classes of regular lines above.

Usual cæsura after the arsis of the 3. measure: ll. 12, 16, 32, 60, 84, 86, etc. = 20 lines.

Lyric cæsura after the thesis of the 4. measure: ll. 53, 314, 341.

Without apparent cæsura: ll. 3, 47, 48, 52, 54, 57, etc. = 20 lines.

To sum up, we have in the first Poem 133 + 98 + 82 = 313 lines of type A, or 76·5 per cent. of all the lines.

II. *Poem.*

Entirely regular lines: 85 examples.

Regular lines with mute *-e* in the cæsura: 79 examples.

Usual cæsura after the 1. measure: l. 72.

Lyric cæsura after the thesis of the 2. measure: ll. 66, 106.

[Usual cæsura after the arsis of the 2. measure: all the regular lines.]

Lyric cæsura after the thesis of the 3. measure: ll. 1, 4, 6, 13, 17, etc. = 81 lines.

Usual cæsura after the arsis of the 3. measure: ll. 221, 286, 317, 351.

Without cæsura: ll. 68, 115, 177, 180.

Together 85 + 79 + 92 = 256 lines of the type A or 68 per cent.

Type B. "*Lines with the trochaic cæsura, built like the preceding, but with an extra-syllable before the cæsura.*"

I. *Poem.*

26. Phebùs ascéndyng, // clere schýnyng ín hys spére
28. And lústy séson // thus néwly réconcíled
35. Whych ín her séson // be slép[e] sét no tále
39. Redlỳ rehérsyng // her léson aý be róte
65. Expélling clérly // all wílfle négligénce
71. Ande ín Auróra, // that ís the mórowe gráy.

65 lines = 15·5 per cent.

The following 3 lines present special difficulties, wherefore I give them scanned:

[4. Thĕ Dŭchés ŏf Bókỳnghăm,[1] // ănd óf hŭr éxcĕllĕncĕ]
30. Vntó thĕ nórĭshĭng // ŏf éuerỳ créătúrĕ[2]
251. Rĕmémbrỳng spéciăllỳ // vpón thĭs óure ŏf prímĕ.

[1] Compare Shakspere's Buckingham = Bucknam.
[2] Schleich, *Fabula*, l. 27; Krausser, *Complaint*, l. 59.

II. *Poem:* 39 lines = 10 per cent.

Type C. "*The peculiarly Lydgatian type, in which the thesis is wanting in the cæsura, so that two accented syllables clash together.*"

I. *Poem.*

31. With-oúte whéch // bráynes múst be mád
34. Meuèth to wách, // ás the nýghtingále
85. Till thát hyt drógh // fórther óf the dáy
122. Ande hów grete gód, // óf his éndles mýght
123. Hath héven ande yérth // fórmed wíth a thóght
127. Hýgh or lówe, // whéder-so-éuer thow bé.

21 lines = 5 per cent.

II. *Poem.* 44 lines = 12 per cent.

Compare the amount of this type in The Complaint of the Black Knight, 1402–3 = 10 per cent.

Temple of Glas, 1403 = 3·5 per cent.

Hors, Goose, and Sheep, 1436–40 = 6·2 per cent.

Nightingale, I. Poem, 1446 = 5 per cent.

Nightingale, II. Poem, ? = 12 per cent.

Type D. "*The acephalous or headless line, in which the first syllable has been cut off, thus leaving a monosyllabic first measure.*"

I. *Poem.*

22. Méued of Córage // be vértu óf the séson
24. Gládyng éuery hért // of véray réson
33. Exceptę thoó // that kýndelý natúre
131. Sáue thy soúle, // or élles shált thou smérte
146. Críst, consýderyng // the grét captýuyté
254. Poúnce Pylát, // that Iúge was óf the láwe.

11 lines = 2·5 per cent.

With epic cæsura (as in type B): 4 examples.

With usual cæsura after the arsis of the 2. measure: 6 examples.

With usual cæsura after the arsis of the 3. measure: l. 24.

II. *Poem.* 38 lines = 10 per cent.

With epic cæsura (as in type B): 4 examples.

With usual cæsura after the arsis of the 2. measure: 16 examples.

With lyric cæsura after the thesis of the 3. measure: 18 examples.

Type E. "*Lines with a trisyllabic first measure.*"

Lines of this type occur but in the I. Poem 3 = 0·5 per cent.

4. See type B.

13. Of the nýghtyngále, // and ín there mýnde enbráce

113. Be this nýghtingále, // thát thus fréshly cán.

The following list will show the proportion of the types in both poems:

	I. *Poem.*	II. *Poem.*
Type A	76·5 per cent.	68 per cent.
„ B	15·5 „	10 „
„ C	5 „	12 „
„ D	2·5 „	10 „
„ E	0·5 „	— „

The proportion of the different kinds of cæsuras is as follows:

	I. *Poem.*	II. *Poem.*
Usual cæsura	68 per cent.	60 per cent.
Epic „	17 „	12 „
Lyric „	10 „	27 „
Cæsura wanting	5 „	1 „

Compare Krausser, *Complaint*, p. 16, 17, and Degenhart, *Hors*, p. 35. Some lines exhibit the peculiarities of two types at the same time, as in the first poem l. 4 of B and E, l. 113 of C and E and l. 127 of C and D; in the second l. 83 also of C and D.

Inverted accent is found in the first poem in 29 lines (7 per cent.) and in the second in 37 lines (10 per cent.); again 24 (= 83 per cent.) of those 29 lines have it in their first measure, of the 37 lines of the second poem 25 or 70 per cent. have it at their very beginning. Double thesis may nearly always be read by slurring over without injuring the flow. The one line 251 of the first poem makes an exception, and perhaps ll. 195, 197: *Fro mórow to nýght . . .*

The absence of thesis I observed in ll. 38, 397 of the first poem.

Hiatus is very often found. In the c-version in 81 lines, in the H-version in 65 lines.

Synizesis, elision, syncope, etc. also occur very often in both poems. I only mention, as being of particular interest, ll. 137, 138 of the second poem: This is he . . . = This' he; comp. Schick, *T. G.*, p. lix; Krausser, *Complaint*, p. 15, l. 241.

Slight traces of alliterative traditions also occur in our poems (compare ten Brink, § 334 ff.; McClumpha, *The Alliteration of Chaucer*. Diss. Leipzig. 1888; Triggs, *Assembly*, p. xx; Krausser, *Complaint*, pp. 17, 18; Morrill, *Speculum Gy de Warewyke*, p. cxlvii). However, I rather doubt that any system is to be observed; only poetical formulas like the following ones may have been used by Lydgate more or less intentionally:

c: Redly rehersyng 39, melodiouse and mery 42, slombre-bed of

slouth & sleep 57, my myrthes ande my melodye 74 (104), to hyrt then hele 154, vice ande vertu 214, bareyne . . . and bare 245, salf thy sore 319, woo or wele 320, soth to say 341, bemys bright 391, etc.

II: Rowes Rede 3, downe nor daale 9, notes nuwe 15, ful fayre and fressh 46, Bathed in bloode 136, reken or remembre 189, shoone so sheene 194, poynaunt as poysouñ 201, Beten and bonched 206, sores for to sounde 268, trouble and tribulaciouñ 347, calle and crye 356, etc.

2. *The Rhyme.*

a. Quality of the Rhymes.

Most of the rhymes we find are pure, so that they would agree with Chaucer's system. Therefore I have taken this as the standard, and confine myself to pointing out only the differences. In both poems we find some peculiarities such as occur in Lydgate's works (Schick, *T. G.*, p. lx).

ǫ- and ǫ-rhymes (ten Brink, § 31; Bowen in *Englische Studien*, xx, p. 341):

In c: dǫn 148 (p.p. O.E. ʒedôn), Anǫne 150 (O.E. onân).

In H: alsǫ 366 (O.E. ealswâ), hertǫ 368 (O.E. her-tô).

Doubtful is the rhyme: stoole 141 (N.E. *stole*), stoole 143 (N.E. *stool*). The first *stoole* is Lat. stŏla (στολή); O.E. stôle is, I suppose, not absolutely impossible (compare côc : cŏquum, scôl : scŏla, etc.), but modern English *stole* = *sto"l*. Kluge in Paul's *Grundriss*, i. 931, has *stôle*, Sweet, *Student's Dictionary of Anglo-Saxon*, stole. The second stoole is surely O.E. stôl.

ę- and ę-rhymes:

In c: natiuitę 160, slę 161 (inf., O.E. slêan); Trinitę 289, thrę 291 (O.E. þrêo), Sęę 292 (O.E. sâ).

In H: fręę 328 (O.E. frêo), Sęę 329 (O.E. sâ).

In c, the rhyme here 111, 344 (inf., O.E. hêran)—were 112 (opt. pt., O.E. wære) and—were 346 (pt. pl., O.E. wâron) is probably pure, as the Anglian form of *were* is *wêre*, *wêron*. In Chaucer it rhymes but in a few cases with ę, generally with ę (ten Brink, § 25).

A good many *cheap rhymes* are found. Suffixes rhyming with each other, e. g. *in c:* -ence 2–4–5, 65–67–68, -ure 30–32–33; *in H:* -aunce 16–18–19, -aciouñ, -ouñ 198–200–201, -acle 317–319–320. Further e. g. *in c:* conceyue 134, deceyue 136; procede 155, succede 157; borñ 156, for-born 159; displese 230, plese 231; *in H:*

dismembre 72, membre 74, Remembre 75; observe 107, conserve 109; heede 83, flesshlyhede 84. About the rhymes, *in c* hele 317 (subst.), hele 319 (verb), and *in H* stoole 141, stoole 143 compare ten Brink, § 330. Once, *in c*, we have the same word rhyming with itself: age ll. 298 and 299. Double forms occur of the verb *to die*:[1] The infinitive *deye* rhymes H 178 with *wey* 176 (dat. sg.) as well as c 107 the preterit singular *deyede* with *signifiede* 109 and *notified* 110. The same verb occurs in the rhyme e. g. c. ll. 75, 91, 166. eye (pl.) c. l. 100 rhymes with melodie 102 and sodenlye 103.

b. Number of rhyming syllables.

There can be no doubt that we have monosyllabic or strong rhymes *in c:* 29–31, 36–38, 43–45, etc.; *in H:* 20–21, 30–32–33, 55–56, etc., and dissyllabic or weak rhymes *in c:* 2–4–5, 6–7, 8–10, etc.; *in H:* 15–17, 16–18–19, 22–24, etc. Note the weak rhymes *in c:* séson 22, réson 24, and séson 58, réson 60, enchéson 61.[2] To the far greater number of lines we can rigorously apply Chaucer's standard for preserving the final *-e*, representing the different vowels of the old full endings. We shall find but a comparatively limited number of cases which will not agree with it.

There is first a very considerable number of *-i*, *-ie*-rhymes (ten Brink, § 327; Gattinger, p. 74 ff.). In the Temple of Glas—about 1403—no example of that kind of rhyme is found; in the Black Knight (1402–3) there are 3, in Horse, Goose, and Sheep (1436–40) none. (Compare *Deutsche Litteratur-Zeitung*, 1901, 33, p. 2074 ff.).

In c: ocy 90, dyë 91 (inf.).
eyë 100 (pl.), melodië 102, sodenlyę 103.
cryę 163 (O.Fr. cri), richly 165, dyë 166 (inf.).
perfytly 282, multiplië 284 (inf.), viciously 285.

In H: sky 2 (O.N. skýr), melody[ë] 4, Armonyë 5.
melody[ë] 13, occy 14.

Other examples are as follows:—

In c: presencë 9, -tens 11 (O.Fr. temps), sentenscë 12.
sensę 16 (O.Fr. sens), eloquencë 18, sentencë 19.
a-yeyn 226, paynë 228, restreynë 229 (inf.).
lawe 254 (dat. sg.), to-drawë 256 (p.p.), sawę 257 (3. sg. pt.).
a-waytę 302 (O.Fr. await), baytë 304 (O.N. beita).
ys 331, myssë 333 (inf.), blisse 334 (dat. sg.).

[1] Schick, *T. G.*, p. lxi.

[2] Compare Skeat, *Chaucer*, vii. xiv.: géson 9, séson 11, tréson 12. *Ibid.* vii. vii.: réson 142, séson 144.

delitę 352 (O.Fr. delit), quitë 354 (inf.), appetitę 355 (O.Fr. appetit).

Doubtful: tendernessë 15, expressę 17.

diuinę 184 (O.Fr. divin), declynë 186 (inf.), matutyne 187.

none 380 (dat. sg.), doñ 382 (p.p.), sonë 383 (O.E. sôna).

In H: messangier 44 (O.Fr. messager), chierë 46 (O.Fr. chiere), here 47.

apparailę 272 (O.Fr. appareil), raylë 273 (inf.).

tellë 295 (inf.), Danyell 297.

naturë 373 (O.Fr. nature), purę 375 (O.Fr. pur).

Doubtful: forsokë 160 (pl.), tookę 161 (sg.).

§ 5. THE LANGUAGE.[1]

A. DECLENSION.

I. *Substantives. Strong Masculines and Neuters.*

Nom. and Acc. without ending, but in H wey[ë] 350 (inorganic, see Schick, *T. G.*, p. lxv; Krausser, *Complaint*, p. 21; *Speculum Gy de Warewyke*, ed. by G. Morrill, p. clxix; *Pilgr.*, ll. 74. 4606).—*u-stem:* sonę 277.

Genitives in ës: in c: lordës 328, lyuës 408.—*Dissyllable* in ęs: sómeręs 36.

In H: sonës 24, briddës 51, 76, briddis 55, 59, 64.

Datives in ë: in c: slep[ë] 35.—2nd yere (?) 23.

In H: the following doubtful examples: daale 9, wey 176, morwe 344 (or mórow).—ja-stem: hewe 121.

In all other examples without ending.

Plural in ës:

In c: 1. *masc.:* bemës 93, bemys 391, othës 171, lordës 323; theves (?) 366, 375.—But angels 125.

2. *neutr.:* braynës 31, cloudës 94, thingës 124, 173, folkës 356; yeres (?) 247.—Besides we find: childrę 311 (elision) and two examples of the old plural without ending: thing 260 and folk 279.

In H: 1. *masc.:* fowlis 4, thevës 174, thornës 191, stonës 330.—i-stem: wittës 184.—*Dissyllables* in ęs: lóvers 17, 63; besides: showręs 338 (rh. paramours 340).

2. *neutr.:* grassis 39, folkës 266, sorës 268.—in ęs: folkęs 204.—in ën: childrën 328.

[1] On the principles followed in this paragraph, compare Schick, *T. G.*, p. lxiv and lxv, note 2.

One example of the old plural: folk 89.

Strong Feminines.

Nom. Neither of the poems has any example with sounded *e*, there are but disputable cases:

In c: goodnesse 8 (ten Brink, § 207, 2), queene 62.

In H: qwene 35, synne 70, sorwe 181 (or sórow).

Genitives: louës c. 14 and mankyndë H. 323.

Dat. and Acc. The ending is preserved:

In c: worldë 48.—In some cases it is doubtful whether the *e* was pronounced or not: lustynesse 10, tale 35, shame 56, swetnesse 89, ryght-wisnesse 204, wrechednesse 206, synne 212, snare 244, sake 266, youth 272, reuth 372, trewth 374,[1] mynde 378, tyde 389. But there are many examples where the *e* was evidently mute: loue 20, tyde 102, synne 118, helle 126, 144, byrth 169, sothfastnes 184, world 210, 278, soule 244, 315, 334, wonde 319, rode 364.

In H: lovë 29, 68, sakë 110, blissë 243, synnë 279; but downe 9, myght 31, love 35, 96, 109, hede 98, 368, worlde 349. Doubtful cases are love 43, honde 64, synne 70, reklesnes 90, kyndenesse 91, sake 97, mone 157, mekenesse 225, clennesse 227, wounde 270, boote 323, sorwe 346 (or sórow).

Plural in ës.

In c: handës 255, soulës 303, 396, tydës 341; myrthes (?) 74.

In H: Rowës 3, woundis 113, 287, synnës 183, 223, talës 202, handis 240, gyftës 245, kyndenessës 281; handis 114, 208. The old form of the Dat. Pl. is preserved in H 310 Whilom.

Weak Nouns.

1. *Masculines.*

Nom. wele c. 153 and bowe H 24 are doubtful; the e was certainly mute in: nek c. 255.

Genit. in ës: Crabbës H 1.

Dat. and Acc. No conclusive example of sounded ë, all the examples being dubious: *in c:* tyme 80, 197, 242, smert 223, wele 320; but tyme 382.

In H: mone (?) 48, tene (?) 193.

Plural. In c occurs but sterrës 283 and feres (?) 249; in H: sterris 38, dropës 150; but dropes 121.

[1] Compare Skeat, *Chaucer:* V. *Tr.* 1385-6, and I. *Book of the Duchesse*, 97-8.

2. *Feminines.*

Nom. Again no conclusive example of sounded ë. *In c* nyghtyngale 337, 393 are doubtful; but hertę 47 and sunnę 390.

In H: nyghtyngale (?) 355.—lady as vocative occurs 20, 24, 30.

Gen. in ës: hertis c. 62.

Dat. and Acc. In c: in ë: the single hertë 138; the others disputable: nyghtingale 34, throte 40, hert 128, 397 (enumeration), smert 223, hele 317, side 387. Certainly ę have hert 52, 270, 295, sydę 236.

In H: nyghtyngale 11, side 26, 114, 164, hert 95, smert 96, pride 233, almesse 241, all dubious; in ę, with certainty, erth 215.

Plural in ës: hertis c. 21 and sidës H 273, 305.

3. *Neuters.*

Plural: eye (?) c. 100.—Iën H 194.

Root-stems.

In H we find the two old plural forms: feetę 114, 210, 283 and men 209, 299. Besides there occur:

Gen.: in c: fadrës 183, but mannęs 261.

In H: mannës 97, 110, 169, 193, 197, 230, 357, 365; faders 274.

Plural: in H: bookës 331; fiendęs 317.

Gen.: in H: feendis 286, 294.

Note: crysten-man / Soule c. 115/6.

Romance Nouns.[1]

Singular: We have the French *-e* preserved: *in c:* peplë 285, tiercë 342; *in H:* spousë 360. Only in c occur (10) cases where the *-e* was certainly mute: gracę 154, voicę 178, vicę 215, Iugę 254, primę 268, croun 312, peynę 315, tiercę 337, syxtę 365, 378.

Polysyllables, with the accent thrown back, have *-ę*: *in c:* prýnses 1, Córagę 22, náturę 46, 75, ríchessę 164, etc. (ll. 180, 182, 213, 219, 257, 263, 265, 329, 351); also: mélodýę 104.—*in H:* náturę 6, séntencę 56, fóly 60, máner 70, cústom 107, súffraunce 144, fýnaunce 147, málicę 288; also: mélodý 13.

Plural: in ës: in c: notës 66, 69, 83, 87, 338, peynës 314, 373, pryncës 323, agës 351, scornës 368.—*in H:* notës 15, 354, twnës 36, flourës 40, 118, peynës 210, clerkis 295.

Polysyllables have *-ęs*, when the accent is thrown back: *in c:*

[1] In order to avoid a rather too big number of doubtful examples, I enumerate here only the unquestionable cases.

gálantus 11, 267, bóffettes 255, cítes 291, tórmentes 367, but: discíplës 189.—*in H:* accúsours 139, vértues 142, but: Emeráwdës 34.

II. *Adjectives.*

ja- (*and i-*) *stems: in c:* grene (?) 63 (obl.)—*in H:* 1. *sg.:* triewë 69 (obl.); newe (?) 123 (acc.), swoote (?) 325 (acc.); deere (?) 360 (voc.); grene 359 (obl.) rhyming with: clene 361 (voc.). 2. *pl.:* grene (?) 34, kene (?) 191; nuwe 15 rhyming with: vntriewe 17.

The other adjectives have lost their inflexion in the singular. There are but two examples to be mentioned: *in c:* bare (?) 245 (acc.; see ten Brink, § 231; rhyming with: snare (?) 244 (obl.); comp. Skeat, *Chaucer*, II, *Tr.* I. 662).—*in H:* grete (?) 242 (acc.).

Plural: In c: derk[ë] 95; glade (?) 69, kynde (?) 377.

In H: white (?) 40, vnkynde (?) 106, 218, smale (?) 354.

In all the other cases e.

The *weak form of the adjective* occurs:

1. *After the definite article.*

In c: Ded[ë] 292; but: myghty 3, gostly 16, lusty 58, gret 146, 234, holy 403.

In H: samë 11, sharp[ë] 61, gretë 67, 91(2), high[ë] 309, Redë 329, Right[ë] 350; white (?) 153 (pl.); but: bawmy 39, grete 67, renomed 148, holy 221, clowdy 322.

2. *After a demonstrative pronoun.*

In c: this samë 73; but: this same 223, This (That) hygh 148, 383, that (This) gret 208, 298.

No examples in H.

3. *After a possessive pronoun.*

In c: hyr ladyly 8, hyr high 9, his endles 122, thy (your) wor[l]dly 132, 153, Their filthi 288, theire besy 353.

In H: oure gretë 99, his fairë 114, myn ownë 206, My fayrë 360; but: his holy 124, His blessyd 127, 249, 256, His hevenly 130, his holy 240, thyn old 342.

4. *Before proper names.*

In c: fresh[ë] May 25; but: All-myghty Ihesu 334, synfle Dathan 348.

In H: seynt Iohn 124, 164, 258, worthy Moyses 327, worthy David 331.

5. *Before a vocative.*

In c: welthy 152, synfull 190, 316, lusty 267, wrecched 316, myghty 323.

In H: vnkyndë creature 182, but: vnkynd 103, synful 337.

Romance Adjectives.

These generally keep their forms.

In c: strong: humblë 2, 181; stable 281 rhyming with: innvmerable 283; veray 24, curious 76, etc.—*weak:* noblë 6, proprë 55, tendrë 247; amerouse 12, troblus 48, etc.

In H: strong: noblë 318; purpure 121, perfite 238, etc.—*weak:* humblë 145; purpure 253, mortal 352, etc. The only exception is: his clierë H. 321 (ten Brink, § 242).

Plural: In c: fals[ë] 375; clere (?) 53; in all other cases we have the unchanged French forms: Desyrous 12, sure 326, etc.

In H: falsë 17; cliere (?) 36, 362, serpentyne (?) 315; the other forms are unchanged: fieblë 186; vicious 266, etc.—Weak forms in the plural do not occur.

III. *Numerals.—Cardinals.*

In c: one (*follows:* of) 167 (obl.); to 375, Bothe 114, 335, 349; thre 291; six 124; seuen 205; viii 209.

In H: oone 19 (obl. sg.), none 71, 125, etc. (acc. sg); two 81, tweyne (?) 174, 240 (comp. Schleich, *Fabula*, p. xlviii), both[ë] 81,[1] both 153, 344; fyvë 334 (before a noun), fyve (?) 184, 287, 330 (after a n.), fyve 118 (after a n.), 335 (before a n.), fyve 113, 115 (in the cæsura); seven 223; Fourty 231.

Ordinals: In c: first 121, 199 (follows: oure); 161 (adv.; in the cæsura); third 278, 299 (both followed by: age).—*In H:* first 120, 367 (adv.).

IV. *Pronouns.*

The same as in Chaucer. Therefore we mention only the following forms:

In c: hem 354 (C. theym), theym 15, 263, 305; theyr: in all cases; al: invariable in all cases; vch 143, 236.

In H: theym 20, them 26 (224 and 236 are taken from A), hym (= hem) 117, 282, hem: in all other cases (A has "them" throughout but l. 7 after: drought); theyr: in all cases; all: invariable, but alle (?) 183 (pl.; rhyming with: apalle 185); eche 187; thilk[ë] 97; —g. pl.: alre (??) 92.

[1] See also note to this line.

V. *Adverbs.*

In ë: in c: With-outë 31, 361; hyë (?) 72, 307, 324; expresse (?) 17; more (?) 209, a-twynne (?) 214. Surely: longę 81, sorę 331, 333; when 92, 144, sonę 148, 189, morę 238, a-forę 242, 253.—*In H:* Withoutën 21, 27, 179, allonë 160, betwenë 174; blyve (?) 186, behynde (?) 220; surely: wrong 57.

In ës: in c: nedës 29, 157, (in, to) myddës 97, 99, 339, 340, 359, ellës 131, 322; but: nedęs 181, elles 206.—*in H:* Towardës 2, oonës 213.

Besides numerous adverbs on -ly.

VI. *Composition.*

In c: primë-tens 23, day[ë]-rowes 54, slombrë-bed 57; kyndëly 33. *In H:* hert[ë]-bloode 112; kyndënesse 91, mekënesse 232; triew[ë]ly 56.

In the other examples we have: *in c:* primę-tens 11; godęly 51, swetnesse 89, endles 122, 133, etc.; *in H:* sperhed 158; gretęly 3; falsęhede 28, mekęnesse 225, etc.

B. CONJUGATION.

Infinitives. In both poems the number of examples with undoubtedly sounded ë is very small. We find *in c:* endurë 81, helë 223, thenkë 232, suffrë 261, 264, 266 (but: suffrę 399), perceyvë 271; *in H:* wexën 120, 136, susteynë 131, suwën 163, makë 279, savë 306, rehersë 335, takën 337, Relevë 378.

Much larger is the number of forms with mute ę, e. g.: *in c:* tabidę 84, deseuer 167, dyę 168, remord 190, thenkę 192, folow 195, lyę 222, etc. (26 examples); *in H:* herkęn 13, takę 16, markę 26, woundę 26, se 49, pay 99, seen 127, etc. (29 examples). The dropping of *n* is proved by the rhyme in: dyę c. 91 (rhyming with: ocy c. 90), sle c. 161 (rhyming with: natiuite c. 160), mysse c. 333 (rhyming with: ys c. 331); flee H 165 and tee H 166 (rhyming with: me H 163), se H 207, 237, 311, 367 (rhyming with French words ending in -ité and tre H. 208, 309).

We find, 15 times in c, 14 times in H, infinitives rhyming with each other; these, as well as about 35 doubtful cases in c, 31 in H, may still have been pronounced in Lydgate's time with ë, e. g.: *in c:* dresse 1, enbrace 13, apere 25, dye 75, expresse 88, here 111, etc.; *in H:* knowe 22, abyde 23, espye 28, avaunce 63, crye 105, vnclose 113, etc.

Indicative Present. 1. *sg.: in c:* gesse (?) 86.—*In H:* Reherse (?) 281; trowe (?) 15, calle (?) 363 (indecisive); certainly: cast 52.

2. *sg.: in c:* vsëst 171, entrëst 240; but: lyuęst 172, standęst (?) 191.—*In H:* Takęstow (?) 71.

3. *sg.: in c:* Meuëth 34, sesëth 37, tellëth 114, owëth 116, endyth 199, hatëth 217, be-tokenëth 278, knokkëth 325; desireth 225 rhyming with: expyreth 227; but: louęth 46, comęth 159, perseuereth 275; contracted forms (ten Brink, § 186) in: set 35, a-byt 275 (rhyming with: yit 277 and hyt 278), probably in: biddeth = bit 166, perhaps also in: rewardeth 357, 361.—*In H:* Betokenyth 66, Syngëth 72, Streynëth 73, peynëth 73, meanyth 82, takith 83, cryëth 106; doubtful: meanyth 56, takith 65, Resownyth 84; but: Shakith 74, qwakyth 74, Callith 365, 366; contracted forms occur in: list 345, 348.

Plural: in c: be-sechę 411.—*In H:* passën 176, darë 292; take (?) 98, pressen (?) 152, trespas (?) 204, specifie (?) 331; seen 292.

Subjunctive: in c: 2. *sg.*: lust 174, dye (?) 198; 3. *sg.:* Lustę 9. —*In H:* 2. *sg.:* list 50, advert 77, ride (?) 117; 3. *sg.:* list 207, 237, 367, beholdë 311, see 311.

Imperative: in c: conceyue (?) 134, wep (?) 175; but certainly: Rysę 56, Enprintę 128, armę 129, Sauę 131, let 138, 222, etc. (13 examples); *plural:* Entendëth 363; Beth 325; but: Let 268, Restreynę 270, Call 327, thenk 335.—*In H:* considrë 85, remembrë 225, gadrë 341; but in all other cases ę: sle 20, bryng 21, Let 26, Cherissh 30, herknę 35, Risę 49, etc. (22 examples).—Of the *plural* occurs but the indecisive form: Lift 177.

Participle Present. With the exception of: langwisshyng (?) H 29 (pl.; rhyming with: bryng 31 (inf.)), we have but invariable forms in both poems.

Verbal noun, in -ing: in c: the norishing 30, the enduryng 40, my conny[n]gę 112, the begynny[n]g 121; mornyng 70, wepyng 163, connyng 177, etc.—*In H:* the meanyng 13, Thyn vndrestondyng 81, hir synggyng 83, myn heryng 185, The kepyng 258; meanyng 69, Smellyng 186, lokyng 197, heringę 202, towchyng 207, mysfotyng 209.

Strong Preterit. "Ablaut" as in Chaucer; so we mention but the following forms: *in c: sg.:* can = gan 136, 339, 395; leep 59, Fell 126; *pl.:* can = gan 54, ran 236, camę 279, sank 290.—*In H: sg.:* can = gan 144; fillę 42; *pl.:* drough 7, can = gan 19, saugh 125, d[r]ewę 171, Sawę 178, shoonę 194; forsoke 160 rhyming with: tookę 161 (*sg.*).

Weak Preterit. In ëd, ęd: in c: sg.: walkëd 61, romëd 64,

cesëd 88, expirëd 107, causëd 137, enterëd 161, suffrëd 257, 321, Openëd 349, Thirlëd 387, Ascendëd 402; but: conceyued 68, manaced 161, swoloued 349. Doubtful are the following forms: rehersed 50, deyede 107, signifiede 109, suffred 193, 315, 371, reserued 205, cesed 233, ailed 367, died 371, expired 388.—*pl.:* offrëd 369; enchesoned 84, perysched 209, passed 300; presed (?) 236, desyred (?) 386.

In H: sg.: thrillëd 128, suffrëd 188, 199, 205, 242, trespassëd 211, offendid 213, shewëd 260, hastëd 261, venqwisshëd 336; but: priked 62, lyved 231. Doubtful is: suffred 270.—There occurs one single example of the 2. person: herdëst 58.—*pl.:* Receyvëd 314.

In dë, të, de, te.: in c: seide 60, sayd 73; made (?) 70, 179; thoght 91, lust 186, sent 403; a-lyght (?) 96; pl. indecisive: set 312. —*In H:* taught[ë] 6; herde 36, saydę 203, Spraddę 235, madę 325, 328; list 110, past 248, stynt 324; pl. left 171, 173.

Participle Past. Strong: in c: vnderstondën 120, etën 151, Takën 253, 298; but: ouerflow 212, slayn 400. Doubtful are: borñ 156, 313, for-born 159 rhyming with: be-forn 158, taken 188 rhyming with: for-saken 189, to-drawe 256; yeuen 397.—The sole plural form: bounde 255 is indecisive.

In H: stongën 95, foundë 141, Betën 206; doubtful are: borne 8, lorne 60, founde 271; Forsaken 170 and spoken 202 (pl.); plural besides in: founde 218, but undecisive.

Weak: in ëd: in c: declarëd 17, considrëd 19, renouelëd 23, entrëd 45, blessëd 50, formëd 123, etc. (27 cases).—*In H:* -huwëd 2, sugrëd 5, callïd 25, gouernëd 57, Rootëd 69, Steynëd 135, Blessyd 143, made = makëd 298, etc. (17 cases).

In ęd (t): in c: Meuęd 22, herd 101, brent 133, past 239, 247, keept 248, etc. (10). Doubtful are the participles rhyming with each other as: exiled 27, reconciled 28, etc., or with preterits as: notified 110, etc.—*In H:* Spreynt 121, I-left 220 (compare: I-blent 130, Imeynt 137), Meynt 347. Rhyming are: to-Rent 127, spent 129, I-blent 130; depeynt 134, Imeynt 137, atteynt 138.

Polysyllables and contracted forms: in c: ráucshęd 52, enlúmyneḍ 95, pv̄nichęd 237, fýnyschęd 274, bányshid 383; sprad 93, bent 255, put 263, hurt 318, fed 409.—*In H:* fúlfillęd 197; Fret 34, sent 224, sprad 298.

About: infecte c l. 143 see note to this line.

§ 6. THE AUTHORSHIP.

The first of our poems is cited by Tanner as 'Philomela' among Lydgate's works. In his *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica* (1749), p. 491, l. 11 f. a., we read:

A saying of the nightingale signifying Christ: Ad Annam duciss. Buckingh. Pr. pr. prosa. "*It is seyd that the nightingale.*" *Pr. l.* "*Go lityll . . . prynces dresse.*" *MS. Cotton. Caligula A II. MS. C. C. C. Oxon. 203.*

Besides him, only Ritson mentions the title of our poems in his *Bibliographia Poetica* (1802), but, unfortunately, he has rather lost ground since the publication of Dr. Schick's *T. G.* (see p. cxlviii ff.).[1] In his long list of Lydgate's writings Ritson quotes as No. 213:

A saying of the nightingale touching Christ: "*In Iune whan Titan was in Crabbes hede*" (*Caligula A. II. & the Harley MS. 2251*).

And indeed, we immediately meet with his incorrectness; for the title and the first line of the poem he cites agree only with H (or A; but this he apparently was not aware of). As to c, he seems to have known the MS. and the poem as one of Lydgate's works, but afterwards, when compiling his *Bibliographia*, the similar subject led him astray, and he forgot that neither the title nor the beginning of the poem was the same as in H (and A).

If we had no other argument than this statement of Ritson's to bring forward in favour of Lydgate's authorship, we could hardly venture to support our opinion. But Tanner's judgment is much more reliable, and, besides his authority, the internal evidence is, as we shall see, so striking, that we cannot but attribute this first poem to Lydgate. As the poem has not yet been printed, we need not wonder that the common sources like Bale and Pits do not mention it.

The second poem is acknowledged as one of the monk's works by Stowe: both MSS. got their titles from the hand of this chronicler, and at the end of A we find: *Of this Balade Dan Iohñ Lydgate made nomore.* This testimony of Stowe is the more valuable, as it goes back, according to his own words (see § 2), to Shirley. Then [1802] again we may refer to Ritson, and, at last, to *Warton-Hazlitt*, iii, 53, note 1:

"*Lydgate in his Philomela, mentions the death of Henry Lord Warwick, who died in 1446. MS. Harl. ibid. (2251). 120. fol. 255.*"

Though this statement about Lord Warwick is disputed, as we

[1] But compare also: Brotanek, *Die Englischen Maskenspiele.* [*Wiener Beiträge zur Englischen Philologie xv.*] Wien, 1902, p. 9.

shall see (compare § 7), the notice nevertheless gives evidence that Warton and Hazlitt considered the H-version to be one of Lydgate's works.

Examining and comparing the style of the poems, which offers the strongest support in favour of Lydgate's supposed authorship, I venture to remark that it is superfluous to cite examples from H, as all said about c may also, *mutatis mutandis*, be applied to H.

Firstly, as we have seen, the metre in c is the same as in H. We have o- and o-rhymes, e- and e-rhymes (not, however, -ere and -ire-rhymes, as in the *T. G.*, p. lxi); the disregard of the final e in the rhymes has made progress; we find, e. g., a considerable number of i- and ie- rhymes. Other licences of Lydgate as to the structure of the verse exhibit themselves throughout the poem (see § 4; especially type C.), so that we are fully authorized in claiming the evidence of the metre in support of Lydgate's authorship. The language, in the main, shows the same character as, for instance, the language of the Temple of Glas, Complaint of the Black Knight, and Horse, Goose and Sheep; compare the outlines of grammar in the editions of Dr. Schick, Dr. Krausser, and Dr. Degenhart.

Again, the style is entirely Lydgatian. As we have no convincing external evidence, we may be allowed to draw the special attention of the reader to the peculiarities of Lydgate, found in the first poem. When we compare Dr. Schick's remarks about the monk's style (*T. G.*, p. lxxxiv and cxxxiv ff.; see also Gattinger, p. 70 ff.), we must say, that—so far as the different subject does not exclude comparison—all these characteristics are to be observed in our poem. The very beginning of the poem gives us an argument:

"Go, lityll quayere, ..."—these introductory lines are entirely in accordance with his usage. Not only are the ideas, the expressions used in that stanza nearly all found in his envoys, so e. g.: *M. P.* 45, 48, 149; *Kk. I.*, f. 196 a; *T. G.*, ll. 1393[1]–1403, but even the characteristic "lityll" is not wanting, which he never forgets, be it a poem of 35 or 35,000 lines (*Falls*, 219 b 1). Though his favourite request "to correct" his poem[2] has not found a place in this very first stanza, he afterwards cannot conceal his self-depreciatory manner; compare ll. 18, 88/9, 112, 177, 181, 182.

Further, the astronomical allusions, ll. 25, 26, 45, 92, the framework of a vision, st. 7–15, the sleepy poet, l. 44, the season-motive, st. 4, the reference to his real or supposed source, ll. 108, 114, 238,

[1] See note to this line. [2] See note to l. 1400 of the *Temple of Glas*.

344, the use of Latin and foreign words, ll. 308, 388 (see Köppel, *Laurent's de Premierfait und John Lydgate's Bearbeitungen von Boccaccio's De Casibus Virorum Illustrium.* München, 1885, p. 40), all these points are quite as common in Lydgate's works as are the numerous anacolutha which occur in this short poem; compare st. 4, 8, 9, 10, 13, 16, 20, 27, 34, and ll. 412, 413.

A pretty large number of Lydgatian stock phrases could be gathered from our poem; but on this point I had better refer the reader to Gattinger, pp. 72, 73 and Schleich, *Fabula*, p. 64 ff.

In respect to the theological matters, for instance, Pride the chief sin, etc., see Triggs, *Assembly*, Literary Studies, 10, 11, and the notes to our two poems.

All these points, I think, give evidence that the style of our poem is entirely in accordance with the common features of Lydgate's works. Besides, I shall give in the notes quotations from other poems of our poet, which will show that the whole atmosphere of the poem, the whole range of ideas, the vocabulary,[1] the motives and allegories are essentially the same as in the other works of the monk.

§ 7. THE DATE.

The first stanza of the c-version contains the dedication to a Duchess of Buckingham, which allows us to fix the date of the first poem pretty exactly.

> Go, lityll quayere, And swyft thy prynses dresse,
> Offringe thyselfe wyth humble reuerence
> Vn-to the ryght hyghe and myghty pryncesse,
> The Duches of Bokyngham, and of hur excellence
> Besechinge hyre, that, of hure pacyence,
> Sche wold the take, of hure noble grace,
> Amonge hyre bokys for the Asygne A place.

As the compiler of the index of MS. C rightly points out, this Duchess is Anne, daughter of Ralph Nevill, first Earl of Westmorland. Her mother was the Earl's second wife,[2] Ioan Beaufort, daughter of Iohn of Gaunt and his second wife, Katherine Roet, sister-in-law (?) to Chaucer.[3] She married Humphrey Stafford, who was created Duke of Buckingham 14 September, 1444 (*D. N. B.*

[1] e. g. adolescens c l. 267.

[2] He *m.* secondly, before 3 Feb. 1397, Joan (formerly Joan Beaufort, spinster), widow of Sir Robert Ferrers, the legitimated dau. of John (Plantagenet, called "of Gaunt"), Duke of Lancaster, by Catharine, da. of Sir Payne Roet.—G. E. C. *Complete Peerage*, viii. 111.

[3] See Skeat, *Chaucer* II, p. lxix, and I, p. li, § 43.

liii, p. 451).[1] This date fixes the *terminus a quo* to the last months of the year 1444.

We are fortunate enough to find another allusion in our poem which allows us to determine the date more closely: st. 48, ll. 330–333 we find:

> A myghty prince, lusty, yonge, & fiers,
> Amonge the peple sore lamented ys:
> The duc of Warwyk; entryng the oure of tierce
> Deth toke hym to whom mony sore shall mysse.

The Duke of Warwick who is mentioned in these lines, is Henry Beauchamp, Duke of Warwick (from April 5, 1444), and is said (without evidence) to have been King of Wight, Jersey and Guernsey[2] from 1445. The date of his death is disputed. It is given as June 11, 1445, by *D. N. B.*, iv, p. 28 *b* and the *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, p. 556; but neither of these, nor both combined, can stand against the best authority, Mr. G. E. Cokayne, who in his *Complete Peerage*, viii. 59 (1898), adopts the date given by Baker in his *Northamptonshire* ii. 219, 11 June (1446), 24 Hen. VI. This is confirmed by the grant of Letters of Administration to him on 17 June 1447 at Lambeth. He was the son of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, d. at Rouen, 4 Oct. 1439, regent of France during the absence of the Duke of Bedford (*D. N. B.* iv, p. 29 a–31 a),[3] and brother-in-law to Richard Nevill, who married Anne, Henry's sister and heiress,[4] in whose right he was created afterwards Earl of Warwick, and who is well-known as the

[1] In the *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, vii, p. 707, however, we find the notice: En 1445, ce comté [Buckingham] passa à la maison de Stafford, dans la personne d'Edmond, comte de Stafford, qui fut fait Duc de Buckingham l'année suivante.

[2] "He is asserted (*Mon. Ang.* ii. 63; Leland's *Itinerary*) to have been, also, crowned *King of the Isle of Wight*, by Henry [VI], but for this (Coke, *4th Inst.*, p. 287; Stubbs's *Const. Hist.* iii. 433) there is no evidence" (*Nat. Biogr.*, in an article written by J. H. Round) . . . . He died without male issue at his birthplace, Hanley Castle, 11 June, 1446.—G. E. C. viii. 59.

[3] See also Schick, *T. G.*, p. xciii.

[4] One of the sisters. Earl Richard left 4 daughters, coheirs on the death of Duke Henry's girl Anne, b. at Cardiff in Wales, Feb. 1442–3, d. an infant, at Ewelme, Oxon. 8 Jan. 1448–9, and was bur. at Reading Abbey. "Those four coheirs, all of whom left issue, were (1) Margaret, m. John (Talbot), Earl of Shrewsbury, which Lady was mentioned in the entail of the Earldom of Warwick, cr. in 1450; (2) Eleanor, m. firstly Thomas (de Ros), Lord Ros, who d. 18 Aug. 1431, secondly Edmund (Beaufort), Duke of Somerset, slain 22 May 1455, and thirdly, Walter Rodesley; (3) Elizabeth, m. George (Nevill), Lord Latimer, who d. 30 Dec. 1469; (4) Anne, only da. by the second wife [Isabel, Baroness Burghersh, a grand-daughter of Edw. III.], who m. Richard (Nevill), Earl of Warwick, so cr. in 1449."—G. E. C. viii. 60. Duke Henry was 'scarce ten years of age' when he married in 1434. His father's first wife was seven years old when he wedded her.

"King-maker." This Richard was the nephew of the above-mentioned Anne, Duchess of Buckingham, to whom Lydgate dedicated the poem.

These facts confirm to a certain extent the authorship of Lydgate. As we find in Schick, *T. G.*, p. xciii, the poet was, during his sojourn in France, in the service of Lord Richard of Warwick, the father of Henry, mentioned in st. 48. Therefore we are not astonished to find this allusion in a poem of Lydgate's, the more so as the Duchess of Buckingham herself, to whom the poem is dedicated, was, as we have seen, the aunt of Henry's brother-in-law.

We must therefore fix the date of the c-version in the second half of the year 1446, considering that the poet says, "lamented ys," and that it is most probable that Lydgate's dedication to the Duchess Anne, she being related to the deceased Duke of Warwick, was in some way connected with this sad event.

As to the date of the other version it is no easy matter when we attempt to fix it. There are no allusions to historical events to be found in the poem. Only, the note by Stowe, at the end of H: Of this Balade Dan Iohn Lydgate made nomore,[1] might possibly induce us to date it before c, but a glance at the metre makes us immediately withdraw this conjecture, as the numerous examples of type D, for instance, would rather prove a later date. The language cannot help us, nor any other internal evidence, so that the best we can do, is to omit the fixing of any date at present; perhaps, later on, we may be more fortunate, and light upon some clue.

§ 8. THE SOURCES.

As we have already stated in a preceding paragraph, both poems have a common source, which is also referred to by the poet himself in MS. c, l. 108:

106. This brid, of whom y haue to you rehersed,
Whych in her song expired thus ande deyede,
108. In latyn fonde y in a boke well versed,

There are two "Latin Books" known under the title "Philomela." The one, of a fairly large size, is a work of John of

[1] As this statement was no doubt copied by Stow from his Shirley original, we may fairly compare it with the like entry in the Lydgate and Burgh's *Secree of Secrees* (?1446, Schick), after the poet's decease, and conclude that the cause of the break-off in the Nightingale poem was Lydgate's death. This is borne out by the character of the metre, as the many examples of type D tend to prove a late date.—F.

Hoveden (Howden, Yorkshire), but has nothing in common with our poems here but the title (compare *D. N. B.* xxvii, 427 *a* ff. and Hahn, Arnold, *Quellenuntersuchungen zu Richard Rolle's Englischen Schriften.* Halle, 1900, p. 3 and note). The other, the source of Lydgate's poems, is a shorter Latin poem, also called "Philomela," printed among Bonaventura's works, *e. g.* in the edition of Ad Claras Aquas (Quaracchi) 1882–1898, tom. viii, p. 669–674. This poem, the authorship of which is uncertain, was of great popularity during the Middle-Ages. At that time it was generally ascribed to Bonaventura,[1] but the editors of the edition above-mentioned reject his authorship,[2] whereas the probability of John Peckham[3] being the author is more likely. There are more than thirty Latin MSS.[4] extant, and many imitations and translations.[5] The poems here printed represent the English imitations; compare *Warton-Hazlitt*, i, p. 172 note; *D. N. B.* xxvii, p. 427; Schick, *T. G.*, p. xcvi and Addenda.

The two poems do not bear a like amount of resemblance to their model. MS. c follows much more closely than H (see later) the Latin poem, as a short analysis of the two will show.

Before we sketch the contents of the poems, we have a few remarks to make on the opening words in MS. C. In most of the MSS. of the Latin version we find prefixed to the poem a short admonitory treatise in prose, the genuineness of which is rejected by the editors of Bonaventura's works. Similarly, there is, in MS. C

[1] Lydgate, of course, was acquainted, at least in his way, with the works of Bonaventura; he cites him, e. g. *Court of Sapience*, e 6 *a* (? englisht his *Life of our Lady*).

[2] See S. Bonaventura opera omnia. Ad Claras Aquas (Quaracchi) 1898. 2°. tom. viii, p. 669, note 3, and Prolegomena c. III, a. 1, § 7.

[3] See *D. N. B.* xliv, p. 190 ff. (*Philomela*, p. 196 *a*) and Hook, W. F., *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury.* London, 1865. 4°. See also the article "Hoveden" in *D. N. B.* xxvii, p. 427, and Horstmann, *Yorkshire Writers*, ii, p. xxxix.

[4] Most of the MSS. are enumerated in the Prolegomena of the Quaracchi-edition, tom. viii. I only add the following: Pembroke College, Cambridge, B. 3. 19, Harl. 3766, Cotton Cleopatra A XII, Laud 402, Rawlinson C. 397 (Rawlinson C. 348 is but one leaf, missing in Rawlinson C. 397), Digby 28, University Library, Cambridge, Ee VI, 6.

[5] Philomena S. Bon. castellane traducta et dilatata carmine et prosa per cantus ipsius Philomenæ, by Mathaeus a Nativitate. Salmanticae, 1471.—Filomena de S. Bonaventura, sive tractatulus hoc titulo, Hispanice versus, by Ludovicus Granatensis. Adiciones al Memorial de la vida Christiana. Salmanticae, 1577.—S. Bonaventurae Philomena, editio carmine Italico, by Jacobus de Porta. Venetiis, 1586.—Die Nachtigall des hl. Bonaventura, by E. Vötter. München, 1612.—Melch. v. Diepenbrock, Geistlicher Blumenstrauss. Sulzbach, 1862 (pp. 302–333, with the Latin text).—The anonymous translation: Des hl. Bonaventura Philomele oder Nachtigallenlied. Lingen, 1883—and that by Leberecht Drewes were not accessible to me.

only, a kind of prose introduction, not intended to suggest to the reader the necessary elevation of mind, but simply to give a concise epitome of the principal contents. These lines in C, however, reproduce the ideas of the poem so incorrectly that we cannot consider them as originally written by the poet, but must presume them to be the work of a scribe:

Matutina—Beginning of the World, Fall of Adam, Nativity of Man, "patris sapiencia."
Hora I.—Noah.
[Hora III. =] "crucifige"—Abraham.
Hora VI. } —Resurrection, Ascension, Pentecost, Corpus-Christi-
Hora IX. } Day.

Compared with the real structure of the c-version below, this short analysis exhibits too serious discrepancies to allow us to attribute this introduction to Lydgate.

We now return to the comparison of the two poems:

Structure of the Latin Poem.

St. 1–4: Introduction,
5–10: The story of the nightingale,
11–13: General interpretation of the story and
14–16: of the single hours.

Then follow the special meditations of the different hours

17–24: Matutina,
25–34: Prima,
35–47: Tertia,
48–77: Sexta,
78–90: Nona.

Structure of the c-version.

St. 1–6: Dedication and introduction,
7–15: The story of the nightingale,
16: The source,
17: General interpretation.

Then the meditations of the single hours follow:

18–28: Aurora,
29–39: Prime,
40–48: Tierce,
49–54: Sexte,
55–59: Nones.

This shows clearly that the structure of the c-version is wholly borrowed from the Latin source. Lydgate only omitted the short interpretation of the hours, st. 14–16 of the Latin poem, to which we do not find corresponding lines in the c-version. But we must state that, though the story of the nightingale and the general interpretation are the same in both, the English poet treats different subjects in the meditations for the single hours. In the Latin source we have the following themes:

14. *Mane* vel *diluculum* hominis est status,
In quo mirabiliter Adam est creatus.
Hora prima, quando est Christus incarnatus,
Tertiam die spatium sui incolatus.

15. *Sextam*, cum a perfidis voluit ligari,
Trahi, caedi, conspui, dire cruciari,
Crucifigi denique, clavis terebrari
Caputque sanctissimum spinis coronari.

16. *Nonam* die, cum moritur, quando consummatus
Cursus est certaminis, quando superatus
Est omnino zabulus et hinc conturbatus.
Vespera, cum Christus est sepulturae datus.

In the c-version we always find two subjects for each hour, one from the Old and the other from the New Testament, *i. e.* from the passion of our Lord:

Aurora: Creation of the world, fall of Lucifer, fall of Adam—Jesus taken Prisoner,
Prime: Noe—Christ before Pilate,
Tierce: Abraham, Sodom—Christ led to Calvary,
Sexte: Dathan and Abiron—Christ on the cross,
Nones: Adam banished—Christ dies.

This comparison proves that, though Lydgate adopted the general idea and the structure of the poem from Peckham, he was by no means a slavish imitator, but on the contrary followed his own bent.

Again we find another trace of Lydgate's originality. To the parallelism of the quotations from the Old and New Testament, he adds the comparison of the ages of man with the different hours of the daily divine service. At each hour he subsequently addresses people of another, higher age; compare

st. 23: "Aurora"—l. 156:

Be-thenke thy-self, hough porely þu was born̄

st. 35/6 : "Prime"—l. 239 :

O thow, that hast thus past the oure of morow

l. 247 : Ande of thy tendre age art past the yeres,

st. 43/6 : "Tierce"—ll. 299, 300 :

And namely ye that are in the third age
Of your lyfe ande passed morow & prime,

ll. 316, 317 : Thenk on this oure, thou wrecched synfull man,
That in this age hast reson, strenght, and hele,

st. 52 : "Sexte"—ll. 358, 359 :

And, in speciall, ye of perfyt age,
This oure of sixt, in myddes of your lyfe,

st. 59 : "Nones"—l. 412 :

That, fro this worlde when so we shall deseuer.

I think we cannot carry the comparison further, as most of the ideas found in c are commonplaces, which do not rise above the average education of a priest in those times. Therefore, even when we find the same ideas in both poems, it is no proof that Lydgate borrowed them from Peckham.

The "Monk of Bury" had, of course, an extensive knowledge of Holy Scripture.[1] We give here a list of all lines to which parallel passages are to be found in the Bible, which I consider as Lydgate's second principal source. The references are from the Vulgate.

[114 : see note to this line].
ll. 121–124 : Gen. i.
ll. 125–126 : Is. xiv. 12–16.
[129, 130 : see note to these lines].
l. 133 : Mat. xxv. 41.
l. 136 : Gen. iii. 1–6.
ll. 139, 143 : Rom. v. 12.
ll. 150, 383 : Gen. iii. 23, 24.
[ll. 164–168 : see note to these lines].
l. 185 : Jo. i. 29.
l. 188 : Mat. xxvi. 48–50 = Mar. xiv. 44–46 = Lu. xxii. 47, 48, 54 = Jo. xviii. 5, 12.
l. 189 : Mat. xxvi. 56 = Mar. xiv. 50–52.
l. 203 : Gen. vii. 10.
l. 205 : Gen. vii. 13.
ll. 206–208 : Gen. vii. 21.

[1] See Köppel, l. c., p. 48 f., Gattinger, p. 37/8, and again Koeppel in *Englische Studien* 24 (1898), p. 281 f.

l. 220: 1 Pet. i. 18, 19.
l. 224: Lu. xv. 7, 10.
ll. 225–226: Ezech. xxxiii. 11; (Sap. i. 13); 2 Pet. iii. 9.
ll. 235, 279–280: Gen. x.
ll. 236: Gen. xi. 1–9, xiii. 13, xviii. 20, 21.
l. 244: 2 Tim. ii. 26.
l. 252: Mat. xxvi. 59–60 = Mar. xiv. 55–59.
ll. 253–254: Mat. xxvii. 2, 11 = Mar. xv. 1 = Lu. xxiii. 1 = Jo. xviii. 12, 28, 29.
ll. 257–259: Mat. xxvi. 67 (xxvii. 30) = Mar. xiv. 65 (xv. 19).
l. 260: 2 Macc. vii. 28 = Hebr. xi. 3.
ll. 262–263: Mat. xxvi. 53.
ll. 271–272: Prov. v. 6.
ll. 281–282: Gen. xv. 6.
ll. 283–284: Gen. xv. 5.
ll. 291: Gen. xix. 24, 25.
l. 296: Gen. i. 27.
ll. 302–303: 1 Pet. v. 8.
ll. 307–308: Mat. xxvii. 23 = Mar. xv. 13, 14 = Lu. xxiii. 21 = Jo. xix. 6, 15.
l. 310: Mat. xxvii. 28 = Mar. xv. 17 = Jo. xix. 2, 5.
l. 311: Jo. xix. 4, 5.
l. 312: Mat. xxvii. 29 = Mar. xv. 17 = Jo. xix. 2, 5.
l. 313: Jo. xix. 17.
l. 314: Mat. xxvii. 33 = Mar. xv. 22 = Lu. xxiii. 33 = Jo. xix. 17.
ll. 348–350: Num. xvi. (1, 2) 31–33.
l. 365: Mat. xxvii. 31 (45) = Lu. xxiii. 33 (44) = Jo. xix. 18, but Mar. xv. 24, 25 (see ll. 379, 380).
ll. 366, 375: Mat. xxvii. 38 = Mar. xv. 27 = Lu. xxiii. 33 = Jo. xix. 18.
ll. 367–368: Mat. xxvii. 48 (34) = Mar. xv. 36 (23) = Lu. xxiii. 36 = Jo. xix. 29, 30.
l. 384: Gen. iii. 17–19.
ll. 385, 387: Jo. xix. 34.
l. 386: Jo. xix. 31.
ll. 388–389: Mat. xxvii. 46, 50 = Jo. xix. 30 (Mar. xv. 34, 37, Lu. xxiii. 46).
ll. 390–392: Mat. xxvii. 45 = Mar. xv. 33 = Lu. xxiii. 44, 45.
l. 399: Mat. xxvi. 28 = Mar. xiv. 24 = Lu. xxii. 20.

ll. 401–402 : Mat. xxviii. 1–10 = Mar. xvi. 1–8, 19 = Lu. xxiv. 1–12, 51 = Jo. xx. 1–10 = Act. i. 9, 10.
l. 403 : Act. ii. 1–4.
ll. 404–406 : Mat. xxvi. 26 = Mar. xiv. 22 = Lu. xxii. 19.

This detailed list of references will, I hope, justify my opinion as to Lydgate's being influenced by the Bible.

The two sources which I have just investigated with regard to the first poem, have also exercised their influence on the H-version, though here the imitation of Peckham's work is by no means a close one. We may sketch the structure of the second poem as follows :

st. 1–5 : Introduction : Secular interpretation of the song of the nightingale,
st. 6–7 : The vision, in which the poet is addressed by an angel from heaven,
st. 8–15 : Beginning of the heavenly messenger's tale, he introducing the nightingale meditating on Christ's passion.
st. 16–22 : Her song, in which are contained :
st. 23–33 : The words which Christ speaks.
st. 34–54 : The nightingale's song goes on, but is not finished.

Were the poem complete, we should expect to find the end of the nightingale's song, the end of the angel's speech, and the conclusion of the vision. It seems that the poet found the task too tiresome, or he had some other reasons ; at all events, he did not finish his work—no doubt he died. We see, however, that here the structure of the Latin original is totally abandoned, the different hours are not even mentioned ; only the general idea of a religious interpretation of the nightingale's song is retained.

As to the other principal source, the Bible, the following list will show to what extent the poet has put his theological knowledge into this poem :

ll. 95, 158, 212 : Jo. xix. 34.
l. 101 : see c, l. 365.
ll. 111–112 : see c, l. 399.
ll. 122–123 : Mat. xxvii. 59 = Mar. xv. 46.
ll. 124, 162, 164, 257, 258 : Jo. xix. 25–27.
ll. 128, 191 : see c, l. 312.
ll. 134, 135, 141, 142 : Is. lxiii. 1.
ll. 137, 196, 201, 265 : see c, l. 368.
l. 138 : see c, l. 254.

l. 139: see c, l. 252.
ll. 148–156, 167–168, 304: Is. lxiii. 2–3.
l. 157: Mat. xxvii. 50 = Mar. xv. 37 = Lu. xxiii. 46.
ll. 160, 165, 170, 173: see c, l. 189.
l. 174: see c, l. 366.
ll. 179, 211, 213: 2 Cor. v. 21 = 1 Pet. ii. 22.
l. 206: Mat. xxvi. 67, xxvii. 30 = Mar. xiv. 65, xv. 19 = Lu. xxii. 63, 64 = Jo. xviii. 22, xix. 3.
l. 226: Lu. ix. 58 (ii. 7).
l. 231: Mat. iv. 2 = Mar. i. 13 = Lu. iv. 1, 2.
l. 232: Jo. xix. 30.
ll. 246–248: see c, l. 404.
l. 249: Mat. xxvi. 27, 28 = Mar. xiv. 23, 24 = Lu. xxii. 20.
l. 252: Jo. xix. 34.
ll. 253–254: Jo. xix. 23, 24 (Mat. xxvii. 35, Mar. xv. 24, Lu. xxiii. 34).
ll. 255–256: Mat. xxvii. 57–61 = Mar. xv. 42–47 = Lu. xxiii. 50–56 = Jo. xix. 38–42.
l. 259: Lu. xxiii. 46.
l. 264: Jo. xviii. 19, 22, 23.
ll. 276–280: Jo. iii. 16, 17.
ll. 289–290: see c, ll. 313, 314.
ll. 297–298: Dan. iv. 7–9, 17–19.
ll. 300–301: Gen. xxxii. 10.
l. 302: Gen. xxviii. 12.
l. 303: Job xl. 20.
ll. 307–308: 1 Reg. xvi. 23.
st. 45: Num. xxi. 8–9.
ll. 318–319: Ezech. ix. 4–6.
l. 320: Ex. xxxvii. 17.
l. 325: Ex. xv. 23–25.
ll. 327–329: Ex. xiv. 16, 21, 22.
ll. 330–333: 1 Reg. xvii. 40, 49, 4.
ll. 353–354: Cant. iv. 8, etc.
l. 358: Cant. v. 1.
l. 374: Jo. i. 14.
l. 375: Lu. i. 28.
l. 377: Is. xi. 1, 10.

This list, even somewhat longer than the first, likewise shows Lydgate's knowledge of the Scriptures.

I first intended to collect all the lines which show the influence of other works, and give them here, but I preferred putting this material into the notes, in order to avoid repetition, as many of these quotations at the same time serve to illustrate Lydgate's language and style. I draw the attention of the reader to the notes to c, l. 90 and H, l. 5.

§ 9. CONCLUDING REMARKS.

I insert this last paragraph for the sole reason of giving a short summary of the researches.[1]

Lydgate's *Nightingale* exists in two versions: one dates from the second half of the year 1446, the other is of uncertain date[2] and unfinished. Two MSS. of each version are preserved, and the texts are, on the whole, carefully handed down. Metre, language, and style are in accordance with Lydgate's general usage. As principal sources of the two poems, we find John Peckham's Latin poem "Philomela" and the Bible.

[1] Compare Schick, *T. G.*, p. xcv and xcvi. [2] See p. xxxviii, note 1.

VITA.

Ich Otto Hans Julius Glauning wurde am 5. August 1876 zu Nürnberg als Sohn des k. Professors und städt. Schulrates Dr. Friedrich Glauning und seiner Frau Anna geboren. Von 1882–1885 besuchte ich in meiner Vaterstadt die Vorschule des k. Alten Gymnasiums und gehörte dann von 1885–1895 dieser Anstalt selbst als Schüler an. Nach bestandenem Absolutorium ging ich im Herbst 1895 als Kaufmann nach Berlin, verliess es jedoch an Weihnachten des gleichen Jahres wieder, um Januar 1896 an der Universität Erlangen nachträglich als Student der englischen und romanischen Philologie immatrikuliert zu werden. Ich besuchte dort im Winter- und Sommersemester 1896 Vorlesungen der Herren Professoren v. Bezold, Geiger, Pechuel-Loesche, Varnhagen und nahm auch an den Uebungen der beiden letztgenannten Herren teil. Für das Wintersemester 1896–1897 kehrte ich nach Berlin zurück und hörte Vorlesungen der Herren Professoren Brandl, Geiger, Schultz-Gora, Tobler; auch beteiligte ich mich an den Kursen der Herren Lektoren Harsley und Pariselle. Den Rest meiner Studienzeit verbrachte ich in München und belegte Vorlesungen der Herren Professoren Breymann, Güttler, v. Müller, Schick, Woerner. Ich war Mitglied des romanischen und englischen Seminars und beteiligte mich an den Uebungen der Herren Lektoren Blinkhorn und Pirson. Im Oktober der Jahre 1898 und 1899 bestand ich die beiden Abschnitte der Prüfung für das Lehramt der neueren Sprachen und trat am 8. November 1899 bei der k. Hof- und Staats-Bibliothek in München als Volontär ein.

Am 1. November 1900 wurde ich zum Praktikanten und am 1. August 1901 zum Assistenten ernannt.

Im Dezember 1899 reichte ich bei der philosophischen Fakultät der Universität München eine Dissertation "Lydgate's Nightingale Poems" ein und bestand am 23. Dezember das Examen rigorosum. Da die erweiterte Arbeit in die Publications of the Early English Text Society aufgenommen wurde, verzögerte sich die Drucklegung bis zum Sommer 1902.

Allen meinen verehrten Lehrern, besonders den Herren Professoren Breymann und Schick, spreche ich auch an dieser Stelle meinen herzlichsten Dank aus für die vielfache Unterstützung und nachhaltige Anregung, die mir von ihrer Seite zu teil geworden ist.

447 Eig